Identifying the Dialect of a Floridian Grandma:
An Analysis of One Woman’s Idiolect
by Julie Patton

submitted 11/30/99
to my grandma.

no matter how much things change,
I'll always be your first granddaughter and
you'll always be the symbol of my roots.
Acknowledgements

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Identifying the Dialect of a Floridian Grandma: 
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I. Introduction
Dialects have been studied systematically and scientifically for over 150 years, and their differences have been noticed even since biblical times. A dialect, as defined by Chambers and Trudgill (1980), is a subdivision of a particular language, and it is mutually intelligible with other dialects of the same language. The dialect develops within a speech community, among people who live, work, and socialize together. The term dialect often carries negative connotations with the general public, as it is associated with low status and considered to be a substandard version of the language. However, Chambers and Trudgill (1980) assert that all versions of a language, including the standard form, are dialects, and that they are all equally valuable from a linguistic sense.

The particular version of a language spoken by a single person is an idiolect. Everyone has a different idiolect, and this idiolect is composed of features from at least one dialect of the language, plus individual linguistic difference. Thus, all speakers of a given language speak slightly different forms of the language, and these differences can show up even within one family. This is partly due to language change, but also to the environments in which the language was acquired by each member of the family.

In American English, certain dialects receive more study than others. The entire country has been mapped for dialect through the linguistic atlas project, which began in the early part of the twentieth century. William Labov has done numerous studies of the English spoken in New York City, and more recently he has been studying the English of Philadelphia. Several different linguists and researchers have studied the English of African Americans living in various parts of the country. The South has been studied widely for many years, providing a detailed account of the White Southern English dialect (WSE). To northerners, this dialect is characterized by a drawl on vowels, and consonant cluster reduction, for example. Researchers such as Feagin (1979) and McDavid (1948) have specifically found trends in /r/-dropping and /r/-insertion.
Feagin also observed syntactic features such as nonagreement of Subject and Verb and use of double modals.

This dialect research, however, has overlooked states more recently settled; few studies have looked at dialects in the West or in Florida, places where English-speaking communities have only existed for one hundred to two hundred years. These areas are difficult to study because of the lack of long-term roots—families have not been in the areas long enough to create a speech community—and because often these families have come from many different dialect areas, diluting any major regional influence. These areas are often regarded by the general population as lacking in a distinct regional dialect.

Such is the belief about speakers in Florida. Because most people think of Florida as a place full of retirees and transplanted families from New York, people believe that Florida has no dialect. In fact, certain families in certain cities have lived in a single area for several generations. Also, as many of the original families came from various locations in the South, there are indeed speech communities, and their dialects may reflect patterns of WSE. In this paper, I will analyze speech samples of one Floridian woman, Evelyn, who was born near Sarasota, Florida, and has lived in the Sarasota area for all but a few years of her life. By comparing her speech to selected features of WSE as described by Feagin (primarily 1979, 1990) and others, I hope to identify elements of the now-accepted Southern form in Evelyn’s idiolect. In order to substantiate Florida’s position in the South, I first must provide historical background for the state, as well as for Sarasota.

II. Historical Background

A. Sarasota’s Development in Context

Sarasota is currently a city of approximately 51,000 residents (321,000 in the county), according to estimates by the College of Business Administration at the University of South Florida (1998). Sarasota is located on the Gulf of Mexico, approximately 60 miles south of Tampa. Three
barrier islands protect the fragile Sarasota Bay. Phillippi Creek flows through town, and the Myakka River winds through the eastern section of the county. Interstate 75 runs down the eastern side of town, and until 10 years ago, it was considered the easternmost boundary, separating homes and business from farmland.

Today, people who think of Sarasota often associate it with tourism and retirement homes. Much of the population has moved there from other states, and in the winter, the population nearly doubles as “snowbirds,” or winter residents, flock to the area. After all, estimates say that nearly 100,000 people move to Florida each month, thus diluting the long-term population and the unique native culture of the community. The area, however, did not start out that way, and in fact this reputation is a rather new development.

The land where Sarasota now sits was once home to several tribes of Native Americans. Remains have been found near the city dating back as far as 14,000 years.¹ By the Mississippian Era (1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D.), the area around Tampa Bay, including the Sarasota area, was well-populated with the Timucuan tribe. They had farming skills and divided themselves into a collection of independent villages. Interestingly, the tribe developed an “inter-tribal dialect” (pidgin) for traders of the Timucuan tribe to use with traders of the Apalachee tribe of the Tallahassee Hills in northern Florida.

Farther south on the Gulf coast lived the Calusa Indian tribe. Language evidence indicates that the tribe came from Cuba or other Caribbean islands.

Unfortunately for the tribal groups, Europeans began to explore the unknown world, and to colonize. Florida was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon of Spain, in 1513. He landed near what is now St. Augustine, encountered a native tribe, and charted important features of the Florida East Coast. He then rounded the Florida Straits to explore the Gulf Coast, where he met the Calusa tribe and deemed them unfriendly. In 1521, he returned to the Calusa territory with Florida East Coast. He then rounded the Florida Straits to explore the Gulf Coast, where he met the Calusa tribe and deemed them unfriendly. In 1521, he returned to the Calusa territory with 500 colonists. They were eventually driven out by the tribe, and settled in Cuba. Thus, early

European influence was limited in the southern half of the state. Such began a long period of colonization attempts. Many explorers and colonists were killed by the tribes. The French tried their hand, and upon arrival brought gifts to the tribal peoples. They managed to establish a colony, Fort Caroline, on the northeast coast. The Spanish, however, had laid claim to the land, and sought to take over the colony. Based at a camp they called St. Augustine, the Spanish fleet led by Pedro Menendez de Aviles massacred the French colonists and took over their fort. When the surviving Frenchmen tried to attack the camp at St. Augustine, they were captured and most were executed. Menendez became the first governor of Spanish Florida, and the Spanish foothold was set in place.

Spain held control of Florida for two centuries. There were many problems, however, as Spanish rule did not allow non-Catholics to settle there, and Catholic families preferred to colonize Cuba and Mexico. Thus, by 1750, St. Augustine was still a small military town, and Pensacola, the only town on the Gulf Coast, was losing money and settlers. The problems only worsened when England settled the Georgia colony, and Governor James Oglethorpe successfully organized a campaign to run the Spanish out of St. Augustine, thereby giving England the land rights to Spanish Florida.

England divided Florida into East and West Florida, and managed to settle the colonies quite quickly. While East Florida was settled by Europeans and Southern planters, West Florida relied on pioneer settlers from Alabama and western Georgia. The native tribes signed a treaty with the colonies, determining strict boundaries, and a fur trade was established. At the start of the Revolution, the British army took over St. Augustine and used the fort and its settlements for a prison camp and army lodgings. Floridian settlers were generally Loyalists, and actually fought for the British. Loyalists from other colonies flooded the north Florida area, but did not stay, as they were headed for the Bahamas or returning to England. At the end of the war, despite the wishes of the southern American colonies, England signed Florida back over to Spain, abandoning their own colonists. Most of the settlers in East Florida left, and started over in the British Caribbean.
Spanish attempts at re-colonization were weak, and the majority of significant colonists that came under the second Spanish rule were from England. Several plantations were developed, but otherwise the whole project seemed to be a hassle. In 1821, the Spanish finally gave up and ceded the territory of Florida to the United States, ending three centuries of instability. By 1845, Florida was granted statehood.

Sarasota itself was settled in the mid-1800s by several different families. The first settler was Bill Whitaker, a young Savannah native who established his homestead on a major bayou in the area. He married, had 10 children, and earned a living by trading with residents of Manatee, a small village to the north.

In 1852, a Georgia cattleman, Jesse Knight, brought his family and his herds to the area. To protect his livestock from Yankee soldiers during the Civil War, he moved several miles inland, creating the settlement of Myakka. More settlers and cattlemen came to Myakka in later years, and a small town developed.

Other neighborhoods in the area popped up over the next 30 years or so: Isaac Redd settled Bee Ridge, the Bennett family laid roots in McClellan Park, and Charles L. Reaves used his own funds to build a school and road into his community, Fruitville. In 1878, Charles Abbe succeeded in securing a post office for his large landholdings between Hudson Bayou and Phillippi Creek, and it was named Sara Sota.

The Civil War era provided some change for the state. Florida seceded from the Union immediately after South Carolina. Slavery was common throughout the state, although it had only been legal for a century. Although the Florida army managed to keep the Northerners out of the state, the Union stronghold on the rest of the South forced Florida’s surrender, as resources and supplies dwindled. The state was then swamped with Northern investors and families from Georgia and Alabama looking for cheap land. Freed slaves rushed to the coastal towns for employment. Racism persisted for many years, as it did in states of the “Solid South,” but it had less of an impact on political action.

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2 Through 1900, all information cited here is from Marth 1973.
Life continued on in Sarasota after the war, with farming and business taking shape. Then in 1883, the entire quantity of land in Sarasota was passed to land speculators, under political persuasion in the state government. The pioneers lost every scrap of land, and colonization virtually stopped. The land, both in the Sarasota area and in surrounding parts of Manatee County, was then under the control of eight companies. One of these companies, the Florida Mortgage & Investment Co., was led by John Gillespie, a large estate owner in Scotland. He persuaded 23 Scottish families to invest in land in Sarasota, heralded as “the most beautiful section of the entire state of Florida.” The colonists came to Sarasota only to find that their land was actually many miles inland, and virtually inaccessible. Many of the colonists then abandoned the area, returning to Scotland.

The Florida Mortgage & Investment Co. was determined to develop the area, however, and began building the town from the ground up. Buildings sprouted along Main Street, most prominently the Sarasota House, which featured a dining room and 20 beds. The second generation of the founding families established their own shops, and a boom seemed to be underway. A school was built, and wages were high. The townspeople successfully protested to move the Sarasota post office from “out in the sticks” to downtown, upsetting the settlers on Abbe’s land. Gillespie built a two-hole golf course, quite possibly the first in the country.

When Manatee County was split in two in 1887, Sarasota was overlooked in favor of Bradenton for the new county seat. The burgeoning town sank into recession. In an attempt to reinforce the economy, Gillespie built a small railroad, running between Sarasota and Bradenton. Given its small size and questionable mechanical integrity, it ceased operation after only two years.

After a devastating freeze in 1894-95, which killed the vegetable crop and ruined the year’s citrus, Sarasota became known as merely a fishing village, as the maritime industry became the only viable source of economy. Steamer channels were dredged, and, upon the beginning of the Spanish-American War, fish demand grew dramatically, bolstering the Sarasota economy once more. Domestic and Cuban demand for cattle increased as well, earning the Knight family and other Myakka crackers great prosperity.
### Table 1: Annual Population Estimates - County and Municipal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sarasota</th>
<th>Total County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>8,498</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>11,141</td>
<td>16,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>18,896</td>
<td>28,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>34,083</td>
<td>76,558</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>40,237</td>
<td>120,413</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>47,134</td>
<td>163,172</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>48,868</td>
<td>202,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>50,782</td>
<td>238,013</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>50,961</td>
<td>277,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>51,143</td>
<td>301,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>51,859</td>
<td>316,023</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BEBR Annual Estimate, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Florida

At the turn of the century, Sarasota had a population of only 600, but it soon was turning out its own newspaper, improving lodging for visitors, and hooking up two telephones. By 1910, the population had risen to 840, and electric power was available in the evenings. John and Mable Ringling arrived in Sarasota in 1912, purchasing a home and beginning a period of economic and philanthropic influence.

On January 1, 1914, Sarasota became an incorporated city, electing A.B. Edwards mayor. With incorporation came the building of several new schools and post offices, a bridge to Siesta Key, and the arrival of the town’s first fire truck. As the Great Florida Land Boom began in 1919, Sarasota was prepared to develop quickly into a bustling cultural center. The Ringlings built their new home, the Ca’ d’Zan, in 1926, the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in 1930, and the Ringling Junior College and School of Art in 1931. Both the home and the museum are resplendent with Baroque and Reubenesque art, and the college has become nationally recognized as a prestigious art school. John Ringling brought his family’s circus to Sarasota for the winter seasons, beginning in 1927, and the Players theatre group was born in 1929. With the new municipal golf course, an active Garden Club, a permanent hospital, and a newly opened Tamiami Trail—a direct route to both Tampa and Miami—Sarasota was poised to support both its current and

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3 “Cracker” originally referred to poor white cattle farmers living in interior Florida, as it does in this paper. It now has two additional meanings: a derogatory term for poor whites (comparable to “white trash”) and any third-generation Florida native.

4 Remainder of description of Sarasota taken from newsltr.com/sarasota, the website of the Historical Resources Commission of Sarasota.
future residents.

Celery became a major cash crop, and the tourism industry took off in the 1930s. The national Census of 1940 reported 16,106 people living in Sarasota. Many of these people were born and raised in Sarasota, and many others had come from other parts of the South and the Northeast to settle. By the advent of World War II, natives, transplants, and temporary circus residents were all dominant forces in the town’s society.

The period from World War II on has been a boom for Sarasota. The population has grown nearly four times over in 50 years. It retains Southern influence in some aspects. The public school system was not integrated until 1967, and the African American population continues to live together in the poorest part of town. Older neighborhoods are home to native residents who spend their evenings sitting on the porch or in the yard, greeting their neighbors. Grits, biscuits, fried chicken, and ham are common foods, and virtually every house has jalousie windows. Southern Baptists and other religious groups are politically powerful. And there is still a Debutante Ball in town and a Cracker community just to the east.

It also, however, is worldly. Symphonies, museums, a ballet, and acting groups have developed the cultural facet. The circus has since left town permanently, with the exception of Clown College in Venice, but the performers still come to Sarasota to retire, and their impact is still evident. Several small colleges bring students from across the country and around the world. The small city certainly feels the influence of the world as tourists flood the area every winter and throughout the year, seeking the warm climate, expansive beaches, and amenities.

B. Evelyn’s Biography

Evelyn was born July 1, 1932 in Samoset, Florida. Her parents, themselves born in Indiana in the 1890s, had four previous children.

Evelyn had a tough childhood: her father died when she was three years old; she may have contracted scarlet fever, which began an early and steady lifelong loss of hearing; and she

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5 For a map of Florida and important locations, see Appendix D.
6 While everyone loses some hearing over their lifetime, Evelyn suffered from significant hearing loss at an early age, leading up to her current near deafness without hearing aids.
moved around a great deal in her youth. Before moving permanently to Sarasota, where she had
lived off and on, she lived in Tampa and Mango, Florida, and then briefly in Washington, D.C.
during World War II. Her mother remarried when Evelyn was 15, and the family moved to a
house on D’Orsay Street in the neighborhood of Fruitville, which at that time was very sparsely
populated compared to downtown Sarasota, 3 miles to the west. Evelyn began attending Sarasota
High School, where she was on the Pep Squad. She spent her afternoons and Saturdays working
at local dime stores, and on Sundays would spend time with her friends at the beach. Throughout
her childhood, she also spent time living with her older brother and sister, and at an out-of-town
friend’s house.

She graduated from Sarasota High in 1951, and was married a few months later to
Walter Sutton, of Georgia. Her first child was born in 1952. A few years later, the young
family moved to Belle Glade, Florida, where a son was born. Soon after, the Suttons re­
turned to Sarasota, to a house on Antoinette Street, also in Fruitville, where Evelyn still lives
today. She began working as a telephone operator at GTE, and soon after, gave birth to a
second daughter. According to her now-grown daughter, the family was considered typical
middle class for the time period.

Evelyn retired from GTE in the mid-1980s. Her mother died in 1984, and Evelyn was
widowed in 1990. She has six grandchildren, all of whom were born in Sarasota themselves, and
have lived in Florida all their lives.

III. Methodology

A. In previous projects

Several previous studies influenced the development of the methodology of this project.

Very early studies, such as Read’s 1911 work in the South, were performed by the researcher
collecting random samples of speech as they were encountered (McMillan 1946). While this
method allowed for the speech to be noted anonymously in informal styles, the data was left to
the researcher’s capriciousness; that is, only data noticed by the researcher was collected. Poten-
tially contradicting evidence was thus rarely, if ever, considered.

Atlas studies, such as the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States, utilized a collection of fieldworkers going out into the community and conducting interviews with participants. The interviews were conducted using worksheets with questions and word lists so as to elicit similar forms of data, and to elicit certain forms of interest to those managing the project. The fieldworkers took notes about the interviews' results at the interviews, in plain view of the participants (Feagin 1979). While this method allowed for immediate interpretation of the results, there are many liabilities. Because the participant is acutely aware of the focus on language, they speak in an elevated style, thereby creating the observer's paradox. According to Chambers and Trudgill (1980), it was first labeled by Labov: the observer's paradox describes the problem by which the observer seeks to get the most natural data from the respondent, but the respondent's awareness of the focus on language elevates her style of speech away from the most natural. In addition, the data recorded is subject to the biases of the fieldworker; there is no uniformity of the data recorded because each interviewer may find different features relevant.

Because of the shortcomings of previous studies, subsequent researchers used audio recording devices to collect data. Feagin, in her 1979 study of Anniston, used the atlas method of a worksheet and interview questions to elicit certain types of data, but then recorded the interviews on reel-to-reel tapes so that she could return to the tapes later and analyze them, and also so that other interested parties could hear the data for themselves. While the presence of the tape recorder and the microphones amplified the effect of the observer's paradox, Feagin aimed to elicit the speakers' most informal speech by asking certain questions. In addition to requisite questions about personal and family background, Feagin asked participants about first loves, childhood games, and near-death experiences. Telling about these incidences often excited the participants, yielding more informal speech.

B. For this project

Living nearly one thousand miles from Evelyn made data gathering difficult. I was also con-
cerned with the risk of the observer’s paradox, as discussed above. I knew that Evelyn would use her most informal speech with me without the use of special questions, given our close relationship. However, the presence of the tape recorder and a microphone would make casual conversation more difficult, so I asked for permission to tape at my will, without telling her exactly when I was taping. With just the built-in microphone of the recorder, the recordings are sometimes quite faint, and occasionally unintelligible, but sufficient data is available in the remaining tape for analysis. I chose to skip the interview worksheet because it, too, would hinder the most normal conversation.

Thus, I made my recordings on four separate occasions—twice in Evelyn’s home, and twice over the telephone. The first recordings were made in Sarasota, upon my visits home. I went to Evelyn’s house to see her, and taped our conversations. The first conversation happened to be Christmas morning, 1998, so many other people appear on the tape. I had asked Evelyn for permission to tape that morning, under the pretense of a vague “project for school.” She said okay, and I taped sporadically through the morning, without telling her when I was taping, thereby avoiding the observer’s paradox. Unfortunately, given the chaos of a typical Christmas morning with a large family, much of the tape was found unusable, so I did not spend any time analyzing it.

When I returned to Sarasota in May 1999, we sat and chatted for about an hour. The only other person in the house was my fiancé; however, Evelyn’s distance from the tape recorder (partly due to my avoiding her noticing the recorder, and partly due to the setup of the room) weakened the value of the recordings—while the speech is audible and I was able to transcribe most of it without trouble, the sound quality is not good enough for acoustic analysis. The bulk of my data is from this recording.

The third recording was made from messages Evelyn left on my answering machine. She left two in the span of a few days in August 1999, and since they were pre-recorded samples of her speech, I recorded them as well. Being that they are so brief, however, that they do not serve as a significant source of data.
In preparing to write this essay, I needed information about Evelyn’s life and family. Being so far away, I chose to call her and ask her the questions, all while recording the conversation. The recording was made by talking on one telephone while another was set up with the recorder in another room. I asked her permission to tape once more, given the different nature of the recordings. This conversation yielded a wealth of information, two-fold. I received roughly twenty minutes more of her speech, and also great detail about her life.

The tape recorder used for the first three collections is a General Electric 3-5362 cassette recorder. For the final collection, a Sony TCM5000EV cassette recorder was used. All recordings were made on 120-minute Maxell UR cassette tapes.

IV. Analysis of Data

After making the recordings, I transcribed Evelyn’s side of each conversation from the last three tapes. I wrote out every audible word, and noted phonetic markedness7 as I went along. I then noted unusual syntactic features,8 and asked several other people, of varying relationships, to read the transcripts and give me their judgements regarding Evelyn’s spoken syntax. I did this “second opinion” because, given my life-long closeness to Evelyn, I may well have picked up features of her syntax in my own idiolect, and thereby I would not recognize certain usages as unusual.

I came back to the tapes later, and listened carefully for phonetic features, verifying my initial judgements, and making phonetic transcriptions. While doing phonetic analysis with computer software would have been more definitive and supportive of my findings, the quality of the recordings limited my interpretation to superficial observations.

There were many features that stood out in the transcripts, and several fell into distinct and visible patterns. The most salient features of Evelyn’s speech were /r/-insertion and deletion.

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7 By “markedness,” I mean any phonetic or phonological usage that I would not use myself, or which seemed to be nonstandard.
8 Unusual syntactic features were defined similarly to markedness with Evelyn’s phonetics. Dependence on standard “English class” syntax was greater here, however, as my own syntax hindered identification. Also, I took into account usages that were affected by workings of discourse.
V. The Workings of Change and Variation: An Overview

Before proceeding, it is important to understand the theories behind the mechanisms of change and variation. Sociolinguists often focus on several characteristics when studying change: gender, socioeconomic class, and age.

Language is a highly salient marker of socioeconomic class; people often and consciously make social class judgements about people based on even a small snippet of language. Common reactions and prejudices make references to education and upbringing, presuming that people with substandard or stigmatized forms are not educated, and that speakers with standard speech are well-bred and went to school. Higher social classes do in fact use more prestigious forms of the language than lower social classes do. For example, with regards to the stable variable [ŋ], lower class speakers have been found to use more [n] than speakers of higher social classes (Trudgill 1974, in Chambers 1995; Patton 1998).

Social class has mixed effects on the change of dynamic variables. Changes from below the level of consciousness often start in lower classes and move up, while other changes, due to social causes like aspiration and conformity, occur in middle and upper middle classes and work downward. In the latter case, speakers change the language in an effort to sound more like the prestigious upper class. An example of concerted change is /r/-insertion in New York City, where /r/ was inserted in formal speech and used more by higher classes, putting a stigma on /r/-less speech (Feagin 1990).

In addition, the effects of gender on language have been studied extensively. With stable variables, women have been found to use the prestige variant more than men within their own social class and age group. In standard American English, women are more likely to use [ŋ] than...
men of equal class and age are. Of course, this can be restated; men have been found to use the stigmatized form more than women of the same social class and age. Studies demonstrating this pattern, including Horvath (1985) and Trudgill (1974) can be found in Chambers (1995: 108-113).

Gender also plays a role in language change. When a variable is undergoing change, such as inserting or deleting /r/, or introducing an innovation, women have invariably been found to lead the change (Chambers 1995). In other words, when there is an innovative variable, women use it more than men or the same class and age, while men use the more conservative, standard form.

These observations have been explained in several ways. Chambers cites many studies that demonstrate women’s higher overall verbal ability, declaring that verbal intelligence allows for greater usage of prestige and innovative forms. He also describes other hypotheses stating women’s increased social ability, different socialization and upbringing, and nonspecific psychological differences. The most widely accepted explanation, however, is that women are merely attempting (albeit unconsciously) to appear to belong to a higher social class. This hypothesis is based on presumptions of women’s overall lower status in society, and that by speaking in an elevated style, they elevate their social status as well.

Because Evelyn is middle class and a woman, it is expected that she would have a high number of prestige variants in her speech. However, sociolinguistic studies are primarily presented with statistics and trends, so using just one subject does not require that the subject behave precisely as expected. Thus, it is not necessary for Evelyn to abide by the defined trends exactly; she may simply be on the fringes of the trends, or there may be other interpretations.

VI. Analysis of /r/

A salient feature of White Southern English is usage of /r/. Like the dialects of New York City and Boston, deletion and inclusion of /r/ carries with it inherent social judgement.

Evelyn’s usage of /r/ is mixed. In many cases, she deletes the /r/ in words like here,
producing an offglide instead. Other examples are as follows:

1) If I can think of anythin' else pe'tainin' to the fam'ly ... (B: 116)
2) 'Cause I never know fe' sure if you get it o' not ... (A: 128-129)
3) I was gonna get cleaned up 'fore you got he'e ... (A: 6)
4) Don and them gave me one for Mothas' Day. (A: 7)

In standard American English, which is /r/-ful, these words would instead be pronounced as such:

1') ... pe[r]tainin’ ...
2') ... fe[r] ...
3') ... he[r]e ...
4') ... Moth[er]s’ ...

Evelyn also maintains the /r/ elsewhere in her speech:

5) Yeah, he’s still workin’. (A: 57)
6) I either go to Wal-Mart or K-Mart ... (A: 76)
7) I moved here when I was in the ninth grade. (B: 13-14)
8) ... he died in Palm River, Florida ... (B: 38)

The /r/s in workin’, or, here, and River are all fully produced, as would occur in standard American English. Thus there is variation in Evelyn’s use of /r/.

Finally, Evelyn inserts /r/ where it otherwise would not be produced:

9) In Orlander. (A: 27)
10) ... an Warshin’ton for you ... (A: 33)
11) But give me some idears fer you guys. (B: 106)

Ordinarily in standard American English, these words would be realized as:

9') ... Orlando.
10') ... Washington ...
11') ... ideas ...

This insertion of unwarranted /r/ adds to the variation of /r/-fulness in Evelyn’s speech.

The deletion of /r/ in the South is traced to origins in Charleston, South Carolina (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998). The deletion was a prestige feature, so it spread first among women and the upper classes. The feature migrated geographically outward, influencing the Carolinas and coastal Georgia first, and moving further inland, as well as northerly and southerly, women and the upper classes. The feature migrated geographically outward, influencing the Carolinas and coastal Georgia first, and moving further inland, as well as northerly and southerly, as the generations passed. Middle class speakers began to delete /r/ as well, while the lowest classes continued to use a full /r/. As discussed above, this dialectal feature could not enter Florida, however, until the mid-1800s when English-speaking settlers finally arrived en masse.
The southern boundary of /r/-deletion was effectively the southern border of Georgia (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998: 101).

Feagin (1990) has found evidence of /r/-insertion, however. Her subjects were of two age groups: those born in the late 19th century and those born in the 1950s. Between these two generations, she found a sharp increase in /r/-fulness. This insertion was also determined by socioeconomic class, as older working class speakers used more /r/ than their wealthier counterparts, and younger working class speakers used less than theirs. Upper class speakers followed the opposite paradigm.

By and large, the /r/-insertion was occurring systematically in certain phonemic environments. Feagin identified four post-vocalic environments for /r/, and found that there was a hierarchy of the environments for the change.

The four environments Feagin identified are:

- **Environment I**: Stressed vocalic /r/ followed by a consonant as in *work, person, university*.
- **Environment II**: Stressed vocalic /r/ in word-final position as in *fur, her, were*.
- **Environment III**: Stressed tautosyllabic postvocalic /r/ as in *hear, car, core*. Grouped with these were the words with a vowel followed by an /r/ and a consonant as in *beard, cart, fort*.
- **Environment IV**: Unstressed vocalic /r/ as in *mother, silver, Virginia*.

Feagin found that, while her eldest and wealthiest speakers had almost no /r/ at all in any environment, her youngest speakers pronounced /r/ in nearly all instances. Older speakers of lower socioeconomic class had some /r/, but it was limited, and found to occur primarily in words of Environments 1, 2, and 3, with higher amounts in the first. Speakers of a more medial age also showed a higher use of /r/ in the first three environments. From these observations, Feagin hypothesized that use of /r/ was returning to WSE, but slowly, and in one environment at a time. This order of change was depicted as:

\[ IV > [III, II] > I \]

She points out that, according to Lindau's 1985 paper, this change is unnatural: "postvocalic rs
Table 2: Feagin’s Findings: % r-fullness Distributed by Environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RC</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>VR(C)</th>
<th>R</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HH</strong></td>
<td>u't</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>11 (35)</td>
<td>0 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RK</strong></td>
<td>u'm</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>36 (18)</td>
<td>0 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BK</strong></td>
<td>u't</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>95 (22)</td>
<td>53 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HB</strong></td>
<td>r'm</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>98 (56)</td>
<td>60 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BH</strong></td>
<td>w'm</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>100 (34)</td>
<td>100 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MJ</strong></td>
<td>r't</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>99 (81)</td>
<td>100 (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MB</strong></td>
<td>w't</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>100 (38)</td>
<td>100 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SC</strong></td>
<td>w'm</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>100 (39)</td>
<td>100 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CS</strong></td>
<td>w't</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>100 (54)</td>
<td>96 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HY</strong></td>
<td>u'm</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>100 (139)</td>
<td>100 (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Class: u = upper class; r = rural working class; w = urban working class


tend to become vowels or disappear altogether.” Feagin thus suggests that this change is prompted by borrowing or rule inhibition; in other words, speakers of WSE may be trying to conform to other dialects of American English, despite proposed rules on direction of change.

Anecdotally, I observed that Evelyn often used absent /r/ in words like here and there, and also in words like sister and after. To determine Evelyn’s actual usage, I listened to both tapes, and with every instance of /r/ following a vowel (as opposed to syllable-initial environments), noted whether Evelyn’s production was a full, light, or absent /r/. With Environment 2, however, I used only two categories, full /r/ and absent /r/, as come claim that the /r/ of Environment 2 is a rhoticized /r/ to begin with, thereby creating confusion about the validity of the middle category. This breakdown did not affect the trends of the results.

I then classified each token by environment, using Feagin’s definitions. Because Feagin was looking for /r/-fulness, I grouped together light /r/ with absent /r/ when taking percentages.

12 “Light” /r/ is defined here as a production that is not quite [a] that would be heard in American “newscaster” speech, but not quite the offglide or complete absence heard in old Southern or New York City dialects. It may be transcribed as [σ], indicating a schwa with “r-coloration” (Pullum and Ladusaw 1996).
3, and 17 percent in Environment 4 (See Table 3). The two individual transcripts have similar age and class counterparts in Anniston. Evelyn is obviously affected by /r/-deletion, in that she cant, but it is not important because we would expect word usage to explain the slight transgression in Environment 2 of Transcript B. However, to ensure that the results of each transcript were allowable, I ran χ-square tests on each transcript, comparing production of /r/ to environment. Both A and B were significant (p < 0.001 and p < 0.052, respectively), so, despite the difference in /r/ usage, the numbers are not due to chance. In addition, transcripts A and B conflated together were also found to be highly significant (p < 0.001), in the same comparison. Since the these χ-square tests are sufficiently significant, we can conclude that Evelyn’s /r/-fulness is not due to mere chance.\textsuperscript{13}

Integrating with Feagin’s analysis, it appears that Evelyn uses similar /r/-fulness as her age and class counterparts in Anniston. Evelyn is obviously affected by /r/-deletion, in that she does not have complete /r/-fulness. Without data from older and younger speakers in Evelyn’s work, fitting well into the paradigm of class and age developed by Feagin (See Table 2). Evelyn was 58 percent /r/-ful in Environment 1, 44 percent in Environment 2, 31 percent in Environment 3, and 17 percent in Environment 4 (See Table 3). The two individual transcripts have similar percentages to the total, and reveal basically the same trends. The percentage of /r/ in Environment 2 in Transcript B is slightly lower than that of Environment 3, which is opposite the expected trend, but the difference is only .4 percent, and is likely due to mere chance.

A χ-square test was run on these statistics (see Appendix E for charts of statistics). In test 1, I looked at production of /r/ versus the transcripts, to see if there was a difference in Evelyn’s usage of /r/ between the two conversations. This test turned out to be significant (p < 0.001), indicating that she may have used a higher style of speech on the telephone. This also may explain the slight transgression in Environment 2 of Transcript B. However, to ensure that the results of each transcript were allowable, I ran χ-square tests on each transcript, comparing production of /r/ to environment. Both A and B were significant (p < 0.001 and p < 0.052, respectively), so, despite the difference in /r/ usage, the numbers are not due to chance. In addition, transcripts A and B conflated together were also found to be highly significant (p < 0.001), in the same comparison. Since the these χ-square tests are sufficiently significant, we can conclude that Evelyn’s /r/-fulness is not due to mere chance.

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\textsuperscript{13} I also ran a χ-square test comparing the two transcripts and environment distribution. This test turned out not to be significant, but it is not important because we would expect word usage to be a chance event, anyway.
speech community, it cannot definitively be said that she is matching the trend of change found in Alabama; perhaps the trend here is a move towards complete deletion. If, however, Evelyn’s speech is at least somewhat based on White Southern English, a tentative conclusion is that Evelyn’s speech is a step in the direction of /rl/-fulness. In other words, she likely is conforming to the trend in Alabama. Her use of /rl/ is closer to completion in environments 1, 2, and 3 than it is in 4.

Finally, according to Feagin (Oct. 14, 1999) and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998), insertion of an intrusive /rl/ is common in vernaculars that have deletion of /rl/. This insertion is due to rule extension, and is heard in only a few words—the most common words with intrusive /rl/ are wash and idea (produced as warsh and idear, respectively). Both of these words contain intrusive /rl/ in Evelyn’s speech (A: 33, 230; B: 102, 106, 108). Interestingly, Evelyn also adds an /rl/ to Orlando, producing Orlander. This extension occurs twice, in five total instances of the word. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes’ claim that intrusive /rl/ insertion occurs only in vernaculars that delete /rl/ already is further support for my claim that Evelyn deletes /rl/.

VII. Realization of the variable (ɪŋ)

Many studies have been done over the years studying the variation of (ɪŋ), with a velar nasal consonant. The variants [ɪŋ] and [ɪn] are found in English progressives, gerunds, and the morpheme thing, as well as in word-medial environments.

Evelyn uses both variants in her speech:
(12) Just so you’re movin’, huh? (A: 14)
(13) Oh, you’ll find somethin’. (A: 15)
(14) It’s not fattenin’ or anythin’. (A: 43)
(15) I was also drinkin’ that Slim Fast ... (A: 44)

In each of these examples, the expected pronunciation in standard American English is:
(12') ... movin[g] ...
(13') ... somethin[g].

In each of these examples, the expected pronunciation in standard American English is:
(12') ... movin[g] ...
(13') ... somethin[g].
(14') ... fattenin[g] or anythin[g].

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14 Intrusive /rl/ occurs when the speaker adds an /rl/ to a word where there was no /rl/ before.
15 This notation indicates the transcript (A or B) and the line number in the transcript where the example is located. The complete text of the transcripts can be found at the end of the paper, as Appendices A and B.
From these examples, it is clear that Evelyn’s use of [m] occurs in different categories of speech and with different Subjects.

Evelyn also pronounces the variable as [11], though not as often:

(16) Is everything okay? (B: 6)
(17) Writing about what, honey? (B: 7)

Use of either variant has been associated with different social divisions—socioeconomic class, gender, regional background, and age—in several different English-speaking communities. Trudgill found in his 1974 study of Norwich that lower classes use more [In] than higher classes, and that men of a certain social class use [In] more than the women of the same class (see Chambers 1995). Horvath (1985) found an age differentiation in Sydney, where teens of a given class used more [In] than their parents’ generation, with less of a pattern between social classes (also see Chambers 1995). In both of these studies, [In] was the stigmatized form, and [11] was the prestige form. Similar claims have been made of American English speakers.

McMillan (1946), on the other hand, found that respondents in his study of East Central Alabama used almost exclusively the [In] variant, with only the very highest classes using [11], and then only during the most formal speech. He asserts that “ECA thus preserves the eighteenth century /n/, resisting /η/, ... an innovation” (1946: 17). Feagin observed similar results in Anniston, and claims that, while pronunciation of [11] as [In] is not unique to the South, “its frequency and wide social distribution may be” (1979: 101).

Given these findings in Alabama, it is interesting that Evelyn uses [In] in place of [11] over 97 percent of the time. Given her middle class status, it is not unusual that she would have such a high percentage of [In], even though she is also a woman, because, as McMillan said, only the highest classes ever use [11]. Because [In] is not a substandard form of the variant in WSE, the rules about gender and class do not impact the variation. Only the highest classes ever use [11]. Because [In] is not a substandard form of the variant in WSE, the rules about gender and class do not impact the variation.

The fact that she has only 3 instances of the velar nasal in 127 tokens, and that all of these

16 Evelyn also avoids [1] when describing one of her childhood towns, Mango. Rather than pronounce it as [mæn.go], as it is generally pronounced, she produces [mæn.go].
instances occurred on the telephone (B: 6, 7, 49), indicates that she likely only uses [1η] when she is trying to speak clearly. In addition, of the 3 instances, 2 are nominal; in other words, she used [1η] in speaking the morpheme thing. This is not unusual, as Feagin, herself an upper-middle class university professor from Alabama of roughly Evelyn’s age, indicates that she only uses [1η] with the thing morpheme, where it is nearly impossible to avoid (Oct. 14, 1999). This claim also weakens the hypothesis that Evelyn’s hearing loss contributes to her use of [1η]; Feagin has no known significant hearing loss, and is an accepted speaker of White Southern English. If she and Evelyn have identical patterns in their use of (1η), it seems only reasonable to conclude that Evelyn includes this particular feature of WSE in her idiolect.

VIII. Use of Auxiliary Verbs

A. Overview

Auxiliary verbs (be, have, do) have been studied by several researchers, both in the South and elsewhere. Distinct usages of auxiliaries have been found in WSE (by Feagin 1979) and in African American Black English (Labov, Fasold, Wolfram, and others).

Evelyn uses auxiliary verbs, but she deletes them in several different environments. Some of these deletions can be readily explained as instances of phenomena occurring in other dialects, and some cannot. First, I will present the data and give explanations for obvious patterns. Then, using the findings in WSE and AAVE, I will attempt to explain Evelyn’s pattern of usage in other instances. Unfortunately, there may be several possible explanations which are left undiscovered.

B. Nonagreement

Evelyn has many examples of nonagreement (or nonstandard agreement) in her speech:

(18) ... mom told me you was gonna be by. (A: 4)
(19) So it do me a lotta good. (A: 37)
(20) ... we was outside. (A: 179)
(21) I know it's not much but maybe it help. (A: 129)

While most are examples of the auxiliary verb not agreeing with the Subject, there are a few

17 Of course, no actual recording of Feagin's use of (1η) has been made in casual speech. Her claim is based on comments from colleagues. In a graduate lecture in 1998, however, she was recorded as having 50 percent use of [tn] (Patton 1998). For a formal lecture such as this, a lower frequency of [tn] is expected, so her claim is supported.
instances of main verb nonagreement. In order to put her usage in perspective, we must consider the findings of other studies. Because verb forms in AAVE are often compared to verb forms in WSE, I am including relevant data from that dialect where available.

Other work. Feagin (1979) found nonagreement of Subject and Verb in Anniston, and it has also been found in other studies of WSE. Feagin's subjects never had nonagreement with finite verbs with we or you. Hackenberg (1973, in Feagin 1979) found the same phenomenon in West Virginia.

With the pronoun I, Feagin found some nonagreement (adding -s to the end of the finite verb) in the urban working class, but only in select speakers. Interestingly, all but two tokens of nonagreement occurred with the verb says. Labov et al. (1968, in Feagin 1979) found “hyper-Z” in AAVE in Harlem, claiming that the speakers added -s to other persons beside the third singular. Feagin notes that the only accompanying data uses I only.

Third person singular showed slightly more nonagreement (verb + Ø) than I in Anniston, but it was still limited to less than 5 percent. Wolfram found a similar pattern in Mississippi (1975, in Feagin 1979). Neither of these studies found nearly the same rate of nonagreement as did Labov et al. in Harlem (1968, in Feagin 1979), where black youths averaged 64 percent -s deletion.

Third person plural nonagreement showed a distinct variation among social class in Anniston: the upper class had no examples of nonagreement, while the urban working class showed 31.9 percent nonagreement (Feagin 1979). Hackenberg found similar results. Feagin also broke down her data according to type of Subject, and found that human Subjects were most likely to yield a nonagreement. In addition, conjoined Subjects (a man and a woman), especially where each member is singular, resulted in a singular form of the verb, with the -s morpheme likely to yield a nonagreement. In addition, conjoined Subjects (a man and a woman), especially where each member is singular, resulted in a singular form of the verb, with the -s morpheme attached. Separating the Subject from the verb with an adverb or that also produced nonagreement.
Evelyn’s usage. Evelyn has 21 total tokens of nonagreement of Subject and Verb in the two transcripts. Given the total number of Subject/Verb combinations in the recordings, this is obviously a low percentage, but her patterns of usage are interesting. Broken down by person, I found that Evelyn has nonagreement with all persons and numbers, unlike the findings of other Southern studies, where nonagreement is not ubiquitous. Similar to what Feagin found, the only examples of nonagreement with I occur with the verb says:

(22) I says I ain’t babysittin’. (A: 96)
(23) … but I says she don’t have time anymore. (B: 110)

Feagin says that none of her speakers had nonagreement with we. Evelyn does, however, have four tokens of this nonagreement:

(24) … we was outside. (A: 179)
(25) … and uh while we was there … (B: 65)
(26) … an’ then Richard ‘n’ I was close together. (B: 70)
(27) And we was over at one o’ the stores … (B: 104-105)

All four occur with copular be.

With you, there are also only two examples, and both occur with was:

(28) Well, Mom told me you was gonna be by. (A: 4)
(29) You always knew where you was goin’. (A: 184)

It is interesting that they are both indicating future perfect, followed by forms of going. Elsewhere, in expressing future using going to + infinitive, Evelyn often drops auxiliary, which I will discuss further below. Thus, I suspect that the nonagreement here is more related to her AUX dropping than to the paradigm of nonagreement, especially since Feagin found no examples of nonagreement with second person. On a related note, there are only three instances of you were, the standard agreement form, and none of those utilize the going to construction:

(30) Are you at the same place where you were last summer? (A: 125)

Evelyn shows more examples of nonagreement with third person singular than with I and you; many of the Subjects are dummy it:

(31) Yeah, it don’t matter. (A: 5)

(32) So it do me a lotta good. (A: 37)
(33) He don’t jump on ya a lot. (A: 82)

\[^{18}\] This is also interesting because “she” actually refers to me, but because Evelyn is telling me about what she told someone else, I am referred to in the third person. See below for mention of similar data.
(34) I know it's not much but maybe it help. (A: 129)
(35) But it's not, it don't look bad, not bad. (A: 177)
(36) ... but I says she don't have time anymore.19 (B: 110)

With the exception of (34), all the verbs subject to this nonagreement are forms of *do*, in both positive and negative environments. The use of dummy *it* with *do* likely causes nonagreement to some degree, as there are no other instances in the recordings of standard agreement of the dummy *it* Subject with *do*. In addition, the only examples of standard agreement with *does* are in questions (inverted) and one instance with *Frank doesn't* (B: 78). While neither Feagin nor Wolfram specify where their speakers used third person singular nonagreement, the proportion of nonagreement with this person and number to that of other Subjects is in line with previous WSE findings.

Evelyn has 7 examples of nonagreement with the third person plural Subject:

(37) Don and Pam's on the outs (A: 61)
(38) Then your mom and Tommy was here. (A: 64)
(39) ... I think the prices is a little bit better than over there at Target. (A: 77)
(40) I was gonna keep the rabbit while they was gone ... (A: 77)
(41) They was up in Orlander a couple weeks ago. (A: 219)
(42) ... cuz they was so much older. (B: 68)
(43) ... several years later she had Betty an' Frank was close together. (B: 69)19

In three instances, the nonagreement occurs with conjoined Subjects. The second Subject (and, incidentally, the first, as well) is singular, and the verb agrees with only the third person singular Subject, rather than the complete Subject. In all but one instance, the Subject is human. Thus, as Feagin says that her speakers primarily had nonagreement with human subjects, and with conjoined subjects, Evelyn's use of nonagreement with this Subject type is concurrent. Instances of standard agreement *are* with third person plural Subject are primarily limited to questions and non-human Subjects:

(44) Are you workin' anyplace? (B: 96-97)
(45) Those are pictures from last year. (A: 200-201)

Like *we* and *you*, all of the verbs used with third person plural are forms of *be*. As de-

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19 It is possible to argue here that *Betty an' Frank* is an argument rather than a Subject, and that was is a performance error. I interpret *Betty an' Frank* and a Subject also because of the parallel structure with next sentence in the transcript (example (5), (B: 70)), where Richard 'n' I is clearly a Subject. The Subject cannot be broken to say that Betty is the argument and Frank is the Subject (with and conjoining the sentences) because of the use of *together.*

28
scribed above, all but one of the verbs that do not agree with third person singular Subjects are forms of *do*. The correlation between type of Subject and the Verb with nonagreement seems to indicate a causal relationship; the person and number when matched with a certain auxiliary or copular verb yields nonagreement. However, as Feagin and other researchers do not provide relevant data, it is impossible to align this hypothesis with other findings. It is also possible that this pattern is merely an artifact of the data. However, the obvious pattern exhibited here seems to demand some sort of explanation.

C. Environments of Deletion

Questions. Of 47 tokens of dropped AUX in Evelyn’s speech, 12 occur in the main part of a question:

(46) [Do] You know what you’ll be doin’?20 (A: 13)
(47) [Are] You gonna have room in the car? (A: 116)
(48) [Have] You heard from Julie? (A: 261)
(49) [Is] That what you [are] sayin’? (B: 25–26)

Constructions like (46–49) can be due to deletion of frontal substance. In casual conversation, many English speakers omit the beginning of a sentence in their utterance, and they can do it in declarative statements as well as in questions; more than half of the people whose judgements I received for these questions said these were grammatical. Evelyn’s speech contains examples of deleted Subjects, as well:

(50) [I] Always look at the paper. (A: 32)
(51) [They] Took ‘er horne an’ [they] buried ‘er. (A: 95)
(52) [I’ll] Put it on the other side of Michael and his girlfriend. (A: 113)
(53) [I] Went up to Tampa airport Monday with Betty ‘n’ Frank to pick up Cindy. (A: 229)
(54) [It’s] Been a long time since you been out there, huh? (A: 259)

Given her omission of the Subjects in these declarative sentences, it is possible to suggest that she may delete the first word or syllable of sentences where that first word or syllable is implied.

A more interesting omission of AUX in Evelyn’s speech occurs in wh-questions:

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20 Brackets ([ ]) indicate the deleted element.
(55) Where [are] you gonna stay for the meanwhile? (A: 209)
(56) What [have] ya got planned for today? (A: 215)
(57) How long [are] you gonna stay here? (A: 260)

I am aware that I use this type of construction myself in casual speech, but I have not had the
opportunity to observe its conversational use by other speakers. I asked classmates, friends, and
advisors for judgements, and roughly two-thirds found these three examples ungrammatical.

Those that claimed they would use these constructions in their own speech come from various
locations around the country, so this feature may not have strong localized roots.

Have got. Evelyn uses both have got and got to indicate possession:

(58) They got a dog now. (A: 82)
(59) They got the dog, they got a hamster, they got a bunny rabbit. (A: 96-97)
(60) I got a cousin in Indiana. (A: 252)
(61) You got all your stuff an’ everything there? (A: 169)
(62) I’ve got Diet Sprite, Diet Coke, and lemonade. (A: 40)
(63) I was gonna keep the rabbit while they was gone, and uh but the neighbor’s got
it. (A: 98)
(64) I’ve got a note here that you wrote to Granny. (B: 81)
(65) But it’s got a cordless phone with it, ... (B: 94)

Because she uses both have got and got for this possession, I suggest that her default construc-
tion is have got, and then following her trend of AUX deletion, the have is deleted periodically
throughout her speech. Because she does not always delete AUX in other environments, the
variation in the have got construction is expected.

Other deletions. Evelyn deletes auxiliaries in other environments than just questions and with
got. However, the patterns are not especially obvious. For instance, she deletes have with perfect
tense constructions:

(66) But you [‘ve] seen enough of it, haven’t ya? (A: 31)
(67) ... the first time I [‘ve] seen Dot in quite a while. (A: 72)
(68) I [‘ve] been here in Fruitville. (A: 74)
(69) I[‘ve] really enjoyed that.21 (A: 109)
(70) ... the first time I [‘ve] seen Dot in quite a while. (A: 72)
(68) I [‘ve] been here in Fruitville. (A: 74)
(69) I[‘ve] really enjoyed that.21 (A: 109)
(70) ... ever since you [‘ve] been here? (A: 132)
(71) I [‘ve] been told by the family, next time, call nine-one-one. (A: 160)

21 Indeed, this is grammatical in standard American English without the [‘ve], but the context demands it. This is also true for
other similar examples to follow.
This *have* deletion occurs with both first person and second person Subjects, but only when the *have* can be contracted.

Evelyn also deletes forms of auxiliary *be*:

(72) I ['m] lookin' for Boston ... (A: 32-33)
(73) So they ['re] gonna take the dog with 'em. (A: 82-83)
(74) She [was] almost blind and she couldn't get out of the way ... (A: 92)
(75) You ['re] goin' to try to get a house, you said? (A: 119)
(76) We [were] passin' by the Orlanda ... (A: 222)
(77) The garbage bags [were] as big as the garbage can. (A: 239)
(78) You ['re] gonna tape it?22 (B: 11)

Three of the six sentences here have auxiliaries that are not contracted. From this observation, we can conclude that either the contraction is not required as it is with *have*, or that there is something else at play. I will discuss this, in the context of other explanations, in the next section.

There are three other instances of AUX deletion in the recordings:

(79) She says they ['ll] probly get a cat. (A: 96)
(80) She ['d] just come from Washington. (A: 229-230)
(81) I ['d] better let you go on. (B: 114)

These are all contractions as well, using *will* and *had*.

**D. Discussion**

According to Labov (Nov. 4, 1999), this deletion of auxiliaries is not of the lexical form, but of the phonetic form. Because the *have* can be contracted at all, the *'ve* can also be contracted, yielding a null sound, although the word still holds its syntactic location. He claims that the same phenomenon occurs in AAVE: “black speakers frequently contract the perfect to zero with the same meaning as in other dialects” (Nov. 4, 1999).

Feagin (Nov. 3, 1999) specifies the *have* deletion further, asserting that the *'ve* assimilates to a [b], yielding:

(68') I'b been here in Fruitville.

Then, in the case where the auxiliary is followed by *been*, the long [b] reduces, leaving a null

(68') I'b been here in Fruitville.

Then, in the case where the auxiliary is followed by *been*, the long [b] reduces, leaving a null phonetic form for the word. However, this reasoning does not explain deletion of *have* before

22 (54) is a repetition of a statement I made in the conversation, as Evelyn ensures that she heard me correctly. This is why I do not include it in the section about inverted questions.
words other than *been*. The 've likely did not assimilate to 's in (67):

(67') * ... the first time I’s seen Dot in quite a while.

Thus, while the contracted contraction hypothesis explains most of these examples, Feagin’s proposed mechanism does not seem to apply to all of these cases.

An important consideration is that Evelyn shows no examples of the remote present perfect, as studied by Labov and Rickford (Labov Nov. 4, 1999). Her use of *been* is absolutely associated with the absence of the auxiliary, and not to mean “this was true; it was true a long time ago; and it is still true,” as Labov defines the remote present perfect. Thus, this feature of AAVE has no influence on Evelyn’s own speech.

The lack of *are* in (73), (75), and (78) can be attributed to the general /t/-deletion discussed in section VI. Because Evelyn can delete the /t/ in their and your, it makes perfect sense that she could delete the /t/ in the homophonous they’re and you’re.

Evelyn deletes *am* one time, in (72):

(72) I lookin' for Boston ...

This particular deletion has never before been seen in WSE of in AAVE (Labov Nov. 9, 1999). In fact, the only documented tokens of *am* deletion is in the English of Vietnamese speakers (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998). I am tempted to think, given the single example, that this is merely a performance error, although it is plausible that Evelyn has a rule for deletion that crosses all Subject types, including first person singular. More data would have to be located to support the latter, however.

But what about the three sentences where the form of *be* likely could not be contracted away? These are problematic examples for Labov’s hypothesis, as well. Technically, *was* and *were* can be contracted to ‘s and ‘re, except that those forms can be confused with the contracted forms of *are* and *were*, leaving the tense of the utterance ambiguous. However, tense is apparent from the context and previous statements for (74), (76), and (77). In (77), we also know from forms of *are* and *were*, leaving the tense of the utterance ambiguous. However, tense is apparent from the context and previous statements for (74), (76), and (77). In (77), we also know from context that Evelyn is referring to multiple bags. Therefore, all of the information carried by the auxiliaries in these three sentences is evident from previous conversation. This is like the dele-
tion of frontal substance discussed with the clipped questions: the information is already known from previous utterances, so it is not necessary to repeat it.

A single hypothesis for Evelyn's use of auxiliary verbs escapes me at this time. The lack of relevant presented data in other theories and the sporadic nature of my own examples seems to imply that several processes are at work here. In addition, we cannot dismiss the chance that some of these are mere performance errors, and that these slips of the tongue are adulterating what would be an otherwise clear pattern. Perhaps with other data from other speakers, as well as further data from Evelyn herself, a more distinct pattern may appear. The most compelling, although otherwise unsubstantiated, conclusion available here was sent to me by Feagin (Nov. 19, 1999), as a reply to my request for grammaticality judgements on the data I have presented here: “with [a few] exceptions … that I’m not sure about, they all are just plain Southern!” Thus, although not all of the usages can be explained, their presence is recognized (at least by Feagin) as purely WSE speech.

IX. Discussion and Conclusions

A. Analysis of Results
In sections VI through VIII, I showed that Evelyn's use of /rl/, [ηl], and auxiliaries align well with proven trends in White Southern English. Evelyn produces postvocalic /rl/ more in Environments 1 and 2 than in 3 and 4, matching Feagin's Alabama WSE findings exactly. She also uses [η] much more often than [ηl], which is a characteristic of WSE observed by both Feagin and McMillan. Finally, her use of auxiliaries matches findings in other studies of WSE. While Evelyn's nonagreement between Subject and Verb includes some features not found elsewhere in WSE, the bulk of the data is similar to that of previous studies. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to conclude that Evelyn's speech is a form of WSE, despite the fact that she lives in Florida, which is not traditionally considered part of the cultural South. Moreover, it is quite reasonable to conclude that Evelyn's speech is a form of WSE, despite the fact that she lives in Florida, which is not traditionally considered part of the cultural South.

B. Additional Questions
There are many interesting utterances and constructions in Evelyn's speech that I did not con-
sider here. For instance, she uses *ain't* in several different constructions:

(82) I says I ain't babysittin'. (A: 96)
(83) But I ain't got any plans to go anywhere. (A: 103)
(84) That ain't happened again I hope. (A: 164)
(85) I ain't sayin' how old I'll be on my birthday. (A: 247)

In two of these examples, *ain't* is the standard American English equivalent of *am not*. In (83), it replaces *haven't* or *don't*, depending on the interpretation of *got*, and in (84), *ain't* replaces *hasn't*. However, according to Feagin (1979), while these uses of *ain't* are common in Anniston, they are also common elsewhere in English, and this usage is not a defining feature of WSE; it is merely a feature of middle to lower class English.

A review of the transcripts yields many single examples of constructions that stand out. Some similar data has been found elsewhere, including Feagin (1979), but because of limited data in my own transcripts, as well as limited time and space, I did not analyze it. Because the examples are only found once or twice each, they cannot be considered compelling evidence that Evelyn has a rule generating them. They can be disregarded as mere performance errors or errors in transcription. However, I would like to list a collection of them here, including my interpretations where appropriate, for the chance that similar data is found elsewhere in the future:

(86) ... he wasn't gonna put no more money in it. (A: 52-53)
(87) That didn't help none. (A: 91)
(88) I couldn't hardly hear you! (B: 5)

These are simply examples of negative concord, and would be recognized by the general public as such. Feagin dedicates a section of her work to negation in Anniston, but the patterns of concord are quite complex. The examples here are too few to make a valid comparison with her work. Thus this feature is not conclusive evidence either way regarding WSE influence on Evelyn's negation.

(89) But I got messin' with my puzzle. (A: 6)
(90) And they went through big rigmarole. (A: 53)
(91) ... so if we can do this while we got a little bit of more brain. (B: 79)

The preceding three examples are difficult to interpret, even with the surrounding context. While their general meaning seems clear, the parsing is not.

(92) [If] We don't get some rain, we're gonna have the same thing. (A: 138-139)
Hey, you'll get down to do my decorations for me, [when] you live in Orlanda. (A: 207)

Yeah, 'specially [if] you been out surfin'. (A: 232)

In (92–94), Evelyn deletes if and when, marking the relative clauses. While they can be reconstructed without difficulty to the listener, their absence is striking to the ear.

So let's don't do this with me. (B: 76-77)

While it is clear that this is an imperative construction, I have never heard it used by anyone other than Evelyn.

This study would have benefited from some analysis of Evelyn's vowels. There are major features in Southern vowel usage that, could I find evidence of them in Evelyn's speech, would have cemented the relationship between Evelyn's idiolect and WSE. Among these features are the Southern drawl and the Southern Vowel Shift. Feagin looked at drawl (1986), and claims that the drawl is based in pitch and intonation. The 'basic drawl,' as she calls it, occurs as “the gliding or breaking of vowels under sentence stress” (1986: 142). Vowels are also lengthened and the pitch can change.

The Southern Vowel Shift was first cited by Labov (1991, in Bielec 1998). Bielec describes it as follows:

In the Southern Vowel Shift, the short front vowels /ɛ, ɪ/ (as in “bed” and “bid”) are moving upward and taking on the gliding character of long vowels. A vowel like the short /ɛ/ as in “bed” takes on a glide becoming more like /beɪd/. Meanwhile, the front long vowels /i, ɪə/ as in the vowels of “beet” and “late” are moving somewhat backward, and the back vowels are moving forward. (10)

Bielec (1998) has done the most geographically relevant work, having studied female speakers who were native to Florida, but her study was only of the acoustical characteristics of the speakers’ vowels. Because I could not salvage vowel qualities from my own recordings, any comparison to Bielec’s work was impossible. Bielec found that her speakers met half of the characteristics of the Southern Vowel Shift, in that many of them fronted back vowels. However, characteristics of the Southern Vowel Shift, in that many of them fronted back vowels. However, Bielec’s speakers did not shift their front vowels, long or short, so Bielec concluded that “[Florida] does not follow the Southern dialectical pattern” (58).

Furthermore, Feagin found a great deal of data on double modals in Anniston. While only
the oldest and most rural speakers used them regularly, they are such a presence in her study that their complete absence from Evelyn's speech is surprising. Feagin asserts that the double modal feature is dying out in WSE, and that her younger speakers by and large did not have them (1979). However, she also claims to use them herself, when she is not of the same population as her oldest speakers (Nov. 3, 1999). Thus, Evelyn cannot be considered a member of the WSE speech community. There were likely other influences involved in the development of Evelyn's idiolect.

C. Proposal and Future Directions for Research

Evelyn's speech contains several prominent features of White Southern English, and is evidence that the speech of native Floridians was at least somewhat influenced by the dialects of the traditionally southern states. However, her speech also shows features that are not documented in WSE, and there are important features of WSE that Evelyn does not use. Thus, her idiolect cannot be classified as pure WSE. So, what is it?

For now, since there are no known studies of other native Sarasota speakers, it can only be known as Evelyn's idiolect, because there is no local speech community to compare her to. As stated previously, Bielec (1998) studied the acoustical properties of vowels spoken by female residents of central Florida (mostly Tampa and Orlando), and found that, while the vowels matched half of the trend of the Southern Vowel Shift, the pattern was not strong enough to claim that her subjects were speakers of WSE.

There have thus been two known studies of the speech of native Floridian women living on the Gulf Coast, but because this study did not look at vowels and Bielec only looked at vowels, they cannot be compared to establish a combined speech community. However, it is useful that Bielec found some similarities between her subjects' vowels and those of WSE. There are now two studies indicating that the speech of Floridian natives (specifically those on the Gulf that Bielec found some similarities between her subjects' vowels and those of WSE. There are now two studies indicating that the speech of Floridian natives (specifically those on the Gulf Coast) contain some features of WSE, and therefore may have stemmed from WSE and developed separately.
Given this conclusion, I would like to suggest a dialect history for Florida. Florida did not have significant English-speaking influence until 1850, but once that influence began, immigrating English speakers were primarily coming from the rest of the South. For example, as stated above, the first known settlers of Sarasota were from Georgia. Thus, the first settlers of Florida likely spoke various subdialects of WSE. However, since they were no longer in the same plantation-based, traditional Southern culture, but rather a frontier area with tropical forests and sandy soil, the culture developed differently, thereby developing the language differently. In other words, the language of Florida today likely stems from the WSE of 1850, but has diverged away from it in the last 150 years.

To be more geographically specific, the East and Gulf Coasts were settled by people from different parts of the South, and for different reasons. The language on each coast probably developed differently as well, and may have had slightly different versions of WSE to begin with. Since the original settling of the coasts, people from all over the United States and the world have come to Florida, as well, and have influenced the local language, diluting the WSE bias.

The center of the state, being so densely forested and difficult to penetrate, maintained the original WSE without much influence from northern newcomers, and the language grew on its own track. I only have anecdotal support for this claim: a close friend states that her coworkers in Gainesville use double modals (Kawas 1999). As noted above, Feagin claims that this construction is losing strength in WSE, used primarily by the oldest and most rural speakers. However, Kawas's coworkers are in their early 20s, indicating that double modals are still used readily by central Florida speakers of younger ages. While it is merely anecdotal, this may be evidence that central Florida speakers are maintaining some features of 1850s WSE that have died out in the rest of the South, including the coasts of Florida itself.

At this point, I have proposed three possible speech communities in Florida, each of

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23 Henry M. Flagler built a railroad from Jacksonville to Key West, along the Atlantic Ocean, touting the tropical weather's ability to soothe and cure tuberculosis. Settlers of the Gulf Coast were instead seeking undiscovered land.
which began with a form of WSE, and then developed separately. I exclude the Miami area from this proposal because it certainly has effects from the vast Cuban and Hispanic populations. I cannot say specifically what those are, being unfamiliar with the area and the language of the residents. At any rate, a tentative conclusion would be that there is a Florida dialect of American English, with roots in WSE, or simply a subdialect of WSE based in Florida, and that this dialect may be further divided into smaller speech communities in different parts of the state, based on settlement history and the origin of the first English-speaking residents.

It would be interesting for future studies to test the validity of this proposal, through wider studies of the speech communities of the state. I intend, at a future time, to test Evelyn’s phonology with dedicated recordings, to determine whether her phonology and vowel usage matches that found by Bielec (1998). Not only will this work give a fuller picture of Evelyn’s complete idiolect, but it will potentially allow for definition of a complete speech community covering a section of the central Gulf Coast. In coordination with studies of the rest of the state, it may then be possible to create a map of the dialects in the state, giving Florida the linguistic attention that much of the rest of the East Coast of the United States has already received.
Works Cited


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Appendix A:
Transcript from 5/28/99
So when'dja get down?
In where?
Yeah. Well good.
Well, mom told me you was gonna be by. But I wadn't sure what time.

5 Yeah, it don't matter. Anytime.

I was gonna get cleaned up 'fore you got here. But I got messin' with my puzzle.
You know how I am with them. Don and them gave me one for Mothers Day. I'll be on it next Mothers Day. It's a doozy.

So, whatcha guys been up to?

10 At Christmas? That's my Christmas present.
To where? Orlando? That's close enough. Yes.
Oh, that's great.

You know what you'll be doin'?

15 Just so you're movin', huh?

Oh, you'll find somethin'. 'Specially around there.
Oh, that's great.

So you'll be here at Christmas?
When will you be through school?
Oh, that's great.

20 Have you told your mom yet?
I know she's happy.
Well, you're still gettin' married in March?
Yeah. What aboutcher gown? started on it yet?

Well, I'm here. whatever I can do to help.

Yeah. What aboutcher gown? started on it yet?

Well, I'm here, whatever I can do to help.

25 We'll haveta go to that party place.
Oh, that's great.

You think you'll like it there? in Orlander.
Well, I knew you liked the north.

There you go!

I'd love to see snow again, but not get out in it.

But you seen enough of it, haven't you (havencha)?

When it got bad I thought about you guys. Always look at the paper. I lookin' for Boston where my niece lives, and Washington for you and Philadelphia for you.

My, ahm, smoke alarm. ... I need a battery. I went to the store last night and meant to get one and forgot it. When I got to the checkout line I thought about it and thought I'm not goin' back. I can't hear it ... but anytime (everytime?) anybody comes in What's beepin'? If I stand right under it then I can hear it. So it do me a lotta good.

Have you guys eaten?

I can make you a sandwich and fries.

I've got diet Sprite, Diet Coke, and lemonade. I cain't drink the lemonade. I went to the doctor and he thinks I'm on the borderline of diabetic. So I have to stop eatin' sugar. And I was eatin' watermelon like crazy 'cause I thought well that's good. It's not fattenin' or anythin'. It's loaded with sugar. And I didn't realize it. And I was also drinkin' that Slim Fast, tryin' to lose weight and that's loaded with sugar. I go back next week to get another physical so I hope it's better. I don't wanna go through that line. ... Doin' pretty good with it. So I miss my watermelon. This summer I want water ... well even for my birthday I don't want cake I want watermelon.

Tony dropped out of school again. After all that rigamarole, he dropped out. Michael was down last Sunday, and uh him and Don went to Tampa, to a Devil Rays ball game, and uh he was tellin' him then about that. He coulda been through school. This is my oldest grandson. And he's been in school, dropped out, in school, dropped out. And the last time he went to school, Don said he'd already paid and he wasn't gonna put no more money in it. And they went through big rigamarole. And he dropped out. But Tony, uh, Michael has transferred to the University of Florida.
Yeah, so he'll go in for his junior year. But he's takin' some ... he went this summer and he's takin' some courses. So he's doin' good.

Yeah, he's still workin'. He works at Office Max. And uh he was um here Christmastime. And he was workin' nights but ??? he transferred back to days ???

And uh I guess Tony's still workin' up there. He put in two years. But at Christmastime 

Tony uh Michael made a remark about Tony. I wondered then. Don and Pam's on the outs ... still. Happy family. ... I cain't b'lieve this is my fam'ly.

Mothers Day, Pam stayed home. Well, she ended up at the ball park. Shannon was playin' softball. They had playoffs. So she was there. So it worked out good that way. Then your mom and Tommy was here. Don. LeeAnn.

But I said for my birthday, no more tryin' to get together. Each family'll do their own thing. It's too hard on me. That way stretch my birthday out. I don't mind that.

Other'n that, not much news. I went to Georgia in February. To Rareville (?) It's bigger'n the last time I was there. They got a Wal-Mart there. But a friend o' Betty's lives up there and every winter they get a deer for 'em so Frank and Betty were gonna go up and get it and wondered if I wanted to go with 'em. A deer. So, uh, we left Friday mornin' and came back Monday evenin'. It was nice to get away. Then I went up to Jacksonville to see Aunt Dot. ??? That's the first time I seen Dot in quite a while. She's agin'. I'd like to get back up there this summer. See her one more time.

Other than that, I been here in Fruitville.

Lotta changes at the shoppin' center. Betty 'n' I could hardly wait for Target to open. I hadn't been up there probly in a month. I either go to Wal-mart or K-Mart and uh I think the prices is a little bit better than over there at Target. ???

An' Pam was sayin' the kids cain't hardly wait for school to get out. A week from today, 'Course they're outta school Monday for Memorial Day.

You're goin', uh, Pam 'n' them er goin' up to, uh, some park in Georgia that week that school's out. for uh, some ???
They got a dog now. He's a good dog. He don't jump on ya a lot. So they gonna take the
dog wit' em. They checked wit' the motel and they said yeah you can have dogs. They're
goin' hikin', got all kinds o' thin's there.

Well, I hope you get one. ???

He's a good dog.

It's mixed, but it's I think it's about like this, 'bout...

I don't care. I know it's mixed, but he--he's a good dog. Listen to me, huh? ????

But that, her cat, Scooter, he died. Um, Chip ran over him an' the vet and he said the pelvis
was crushed and didn't think that they could repair it. If they did, there was no guarantee he
could ever walk again. But he was eighteen years old. That didn't help none. But she almost
blind and she couldn't get out of the way, and Chip didn't see her. And uh, oh, they were all
just....

But the vet called and said she should be put to sleep. Pam went down and she held it while
they put it to sleep. Took 'er home an' buried her. I guess it's about the time they get the
dog. She says they probly get a cat. I says I ain't babysittin'. They got the dog, they got a
hamster, they got a bunny rabbit. I said Forget it! But uh her neighbor—I was gonna keep
the rabbit while they was gone, and uh but the neighbor's got it. ???

Although they keep it in a cage.

Eunice is goin' in August. I'll take care of her cat. So, uh, I'll be busy takin' care of cats.
'Less somebody says you wanna go someplace—I'm gone.

But I ain't got any plans to go anywhere.

I'd love to. If I didn't have to change planes. If my hearin' was better, I'd have more

I'd love to. If I didn't have to change planes. If my hearin' was better, I'd have more

confidence. Somethin' about those planes.

I tried to call your mom for I don't know how long last night an' couldn't get through.

Somebody was probly on the computer. So I gave up. She'd been by earlier though with a
package but I was out with my neighbors across the street. I didn't get home in time.
I've had a lot of compliments on my jar. I really enjoyed that. I started to pack it away with my Christmas stuff but I thought No I won't do that. Leave it out.

Well when you come down in December is that when you're gonna move everythin'? Let me know if I can do anythin' to help. I'm here.

I want a picture of you guys. Put it on the other side of Michael and his girlfriend.

Are you gonna put your announcement in the paper? Betty was askin'. Might wait til closer to the weddin'. Need to do that.

How're you gonna get all yer stuff down here? You gonna have room in the car? or have to ship some?

Well, when you get settled, you let everybody know what you need.

You goin' to try to get a house, you said? You'll enjoy that as long as you had an 'partment, you won't know what to do with all the room.

You won't need any o' your winter clothes this year.

It can get cold here but nothin' like what's up there. ?? drivin' in all that snow an' all, drivin' all over the place.

When you put your car up, do you, is there a garage where you live?

Are you at the same place where you were last summer? When yer mom was up there? I was wonderin' if I still had your address. If it's the last place. I think you were in the process o' movin' when she was up there? Okay, yeah, I got that. When I write you 'n' send you money, you let me know, okay? 'Cause I never know for sure if you get it or not, the way the mail is. I know it's not much but maybe it help. If I win the lottery I'll give you more. But I don't play it!

Oh dear.

So have you been out on your surfboard ever since you been here? I wondered about that yesterday. You brought it with you, huh?
I finally saw what Ormond Beach was like. When we went to Jacksonville, Mom stopped by Bob's parents'. All the times I been to Jacksonville I never been to Ormond Beach. It's purty up there. Changed a lot up there.

Yeah, that's why we never saw it. I saw where all the fires were last year. That's bad. Did they get close to your parents? We don't get some rain, we're gonna have the same ???.

Well, last year, they had a bad one down in North Port. They could have. Well, I had rain here last Saturday and Wednesday last week. But Pam, as close as she is, hasn't had any. It's just in sections. It's so funny how that happens. We really need a good rain.

I haven't been waterin' my plants. A lot of people down in Osprey, they wells have gone dry. And they've had to ship water in. So I don't water my plants—I can replace them easier'n I can a well. Much easier. ???

So how's yer dad doin'? He still workin' at Clearwater Marine? So he left? A what job? So will he move to Tampa then? What kind of dogs does he have? Are they big dogs?

I was scared to death a couple weeks ago. Was in bed one night about 'leven, was layin' there readin', and all of a sudden someone, somethin' was bangin' on my bedroom window. An' scared me to death. And I kept waitin' to see if somebody said somethin' or was part of the fam'ly, 'cause they know to hit on that winda, and uh I been wantin' ??? and a few seconds later, ??? three times. I laid there an' didn't move. And finally after a while I got up and looked out the livin' room winda but by then I didn't see anythin'. But I turned on my light outside and out in the back. But I think it was somebody. Why I don't know, or who it was. But I don't see some animal gettin' up there and bangin' around like that. But for a few nights afterwards it's all I could do to go in the bedroom and go to bed. I was alright until time to go. And I can't imagine who or what was doin' that. I hate to call 911 in case it was an animal. By the time they got out here...

And uh I been told by the fam'ly next time call 911.
Probly someone sellin' somethin'.

Yeah I got it. We haven't been gettin' it, that's why they're probly checkin'. Thanks.

But anyway, what about that guy? How'd he get past security? Did they ever catch him? It's lucky nobody got hurt. That ain't happened again I hope.

165 Well now in September will you go back to Haverford til December?

Well how long does it take for you to go from D.C. to...? Oh, is that all?

No traffic up there? From what I remember, there's traffic! Well, you only got September, October, November, December.

Well uh, you got all your stuff an' everythin' there? Well that's good.

170 Well you guys got a lot o' changes comin' up.

Well what about your graduation? Well you gotta be there for that. Four good years for nothin'.

I can't b'lieve Tommy's graduatin'. Have you seen that picture of him an' that girl he took to the prom? Oh, it's so good. Your mom brought it in last Sunday, well, Mothers Day. Oh, is that mine? No! But she promised to get me one. But he looks so nice. Got the suit on an' everythin'. He bleached his hair an' I kept lookin' at it an' I thought the kid's got red hair. But it's not, it don't look bad, not bad. Have you seen it? It's, ah, well, I don't know how to put it. But anyway. It's not as noticeable as some of 'em. But after him an' your mom left from Mothers Day, LeeAnn an' Don were still here, we was outside. I said somethin' about it. She said yeah he bleached it, I asked him. But I wasn't goin' to ask him. I know he's been goin' to the beach a lot, an' the sun will bleach your hair so I thought maybe that's what it was. It looks fine. It's somethin' though.

Can't b'lieve all my little ones are growin' up like this. He said he still hadn't decided what college. I thought by now... I think you had by now. You always knew where you was. Can't b'lieve all my little ones are growin' up like this. He said he still hadn't decided what college. I thought by now... I think you had by now. You always knew where you was goin'.

185 Well what kind a job do you wanna try to get when you move to Orlanda? That's what I wondered.
This summer—youth still at the Smithsonian? What is that? You get paid pretty good for that?
Well, it's somethin'.

I wanna see that catalogue you did at the end of last year. Mom says it has your name on it.
Yeah, but I hadn't seen it!
Bet your folks are tickled you're movin' back down, aren't they? We don't like you guys off so far away.
Well, you're where you won't have everybody right on top of ya, but yet if we need you, you can get home. Quick.
You gotta have a grandma's room in the house. I can go keep house for ya. Yeah.
As long as he don't lick me. I don't like a dog lickin' me.
See what I had developed. A little of everythin'.
Can you imagine your Michael dressed up like that?

Oh, he's tall. He's taller'n I am. He is taller than I am. An' tickled to death. Those are pictures from last year.
I got doubles 'cause I couldn't remember what all was on the roll. Some of 'em are Dot an' Wilbur.
I didn't hear ya.

Michael went to church with uh Don and Alesia ????
I won't see ya dressed like that very often, shirt 'n' tie on.
Hey, you'll get down to do my decorations for me, you live in Orlanda.
Oh well.
Well where you gonna stay for the meanwhile? It won't be long.

Well, with all the family all around you got plenty o' places to stay. I'll rent ya out a room fer three hundred a month. Nah, there'll be all kinds a places to live. Plenty o' people all around.

Do you hear from them?
Lotta changes.
What ya got planned for today?

Waitin' for Mom to get home? She cain't wait to see ya.

We just like to have you here good.

I guess Tommy's through with the bike racin' now. Or it'll be over in a few weeks. They was up in Orlander a couple weeks ago.

Oh, one time I went, well, down here.

The what, now?

When we went to um, up to Jacksonville we passin' by the Orlanda ???

we didn't see the play but it was there then. Lotta traffic up there, construction.

?? middle of the night all over the country, people gettin' in accidents an' what have ya.

Take yer time. Holiday. You'll haveta go report Tuesday? Don't envy ya. Do y'all drive straight through? So when do you go back, then, Monday? Go back on Monday, or Sunday?

Well, it's gettin' warm up there now, idn't it?

Went up to Tampa airport Monday with Betty 'n' Frank to pick up Cindy. She just come from Washington, Seattle. She said it was so cold out there she thought she'd never get warm again. She had a jacket on an' it didn't take her long to get rid of that jacket.

Yeah, 'specially you been out surfin'.

Where y'all go, just right there on the beach offa Ormond Beach? I was just wonderin' if that's where the waves're.

Can you reach it to take the battery out? Can you? Stand on this stool, can ya reach it? Oh, oh it will? Oh, okay. I'll haveta get out tomarra and get me a battery.

You guys shoulda been here Wednesday, 'n' put you to work. Don came out, 'n' we raked all of the leaves outta the ditch. got the pine needles. Outta half the yard--I run outta bags. I got You guys shoulda been here Wednesday, 'n' put you to work. Don came out, 'n' we raked all of the leaves outta the ditch, got the pine needles. Outta half the yard--I run outta bags. I got ten or more bags. The garbage bags as big as the garbage can. He'd rake 'em up in piles and

I'd put 'em in the containers. I still gotta lot more left to do. He's on vacation this week.
It's so good to see you guys. It hasn't really been that long since Christmas but it seems so long.

Oh I know it. This month has gone so fast. I cain't b'lieve it.

Last Sunday was Don's birthday. He's forty-four.

What do you want for your birthday?

I ain't sayin' how old I'll be on my birthday. ???

Alesia's got one next week. June the sixth. That was my grandfather's birthday.

When's your birthday? December the what? Jerry's birthday was the fifteenth. That's like, he either had a real good Christmas an' a so-so birthday, or it was turned the other way. I said you cain't have it both ways.

Well I got a cousin in Indiana. Her birthday's the day after Christmas. That's even worse.

An' then my niece has got one the thirty-first of December.

The month of your birthday is my bad birthday month. Yours, Tony's, an' Ryan's. A gift to Alex. Ryan'll be fourteen. Shannon's gettin' tall too.

Got my three granddaughters there. 'Lesa. Really two, but I gotta say her too. No, that's one of Betty's granddaughters.

Have you had any more pictures made, Miss Patton?

Been a long time since you been out there, huh?

How long you gonna stay here? Tomorra? Gettin' on home, huh? Sure is good to see you.

Your Mom misses ya. You heard from Julie? No, you heard from Julie? Just come back down this way.

Well, I'll let ya go.
Appendix B:
Transcript of 10/15/99
This is three seven one-two six eight four. We cannot come to the phone right now but if you leave your name an' number, we will get back to you shortly. Thank you.

3 Hello?
4 Oh, Julie!
5 I couldn't hardly hear ya! I got your message last night but it was kinda late when I got home an' I hate to call back. Is everything okay? Oh! Okay. I was gonna call ya tonight.
6 Writing about what, honey?
7 Oh yeah.
8 Okay. Gotta talk loud now. Yeah, okay.
9 Is it what now?
10 I didn't understand that about Sarasota, honey. Oh, oh, you gonna tape it? Yeah, yeah, okay.
11 How long have I lived in Sarasota. Oh gracious. I moved here when I was in the ninth grade. Or the tenth grade. I was about fifteen, sixteen when I moved. We lived here off an' on, but from then on I lived here. That's when Grammaw got married, eh, Granny got married again.
14 Where else have I lived? Uhm, I lived in Tampa, Florida for a while. I lived in Mango--Mango, Florida. Is this before I was married or after, or the whole time? Belle Glade, Florida for a while. That was after Papa n' I got married. 'N' your Mom was a couple years old when we moved there. Yeah. And ah, since then, when we moved back from Belle Glade, Don was a baby and we moved back to Sarasota, and we, I been here ever since.
18 I was born in Samoset, Florida. I didn't hear that. Yeah, in Bradenton. It's a little section of Bradenton. That's why, a lotta people from outta state, I just tell 'em Bradenton.
21 What about my dad's side? I couldn't understand. Well, he was born in Indiana, that what you sayin'? Yeah, he was born in Boonville, Indiana. But I cain't tell ya too much about him.
24 What about my dad's side? I couldn't understand. Well, he was born in Indiana, that what you sayin'? Yeah, he was born in Boonville, Indiana. But I cain't tell ya too much about him because we just don't have that information. Other than when he was in his early forties when he died. And uh, he died in Palm River, Florida and he's buried in Seffner, Florida.
I didn't hear ya, honey. Oh, Granny? She was born in Indiana. But I don't remember what
town, honey. What year? In the middle eighteen hundreds. I'd have to look that up. I know
she could tell ya without a doubt. She couldn't tell ya what the date was today, but she could
tell ya what year she was born. And she died in eighty-four, I think it was nineteen-eighty­
four. She was I think she woulda been eighty-seven or eighty-eight, eighty-eight, eighty­
nine. In her late eighties when she died.

[So you worked at GTE, right?] Right. How long I was with them? Twenty-nine years.
Oh, Sarasota was great back then. You could, on Saturday night you could go downtown,
an' you could see everybody you knew, just about. And you didn't haveta worry about
lockin' your doors. And uhm, It was really more of a family town then really than what it is
now. Now it's a tourist town. But uh, it was more, more family then. I could writecha a book
about what it us eta be.

I went to Sarasota High School. Where did I live? I lived on D'Orsay Street, which is two
streets south of me. Uh, it's two streets past Fruitville School. And then I graduated in fifty­
one, got married in fifty-one, your Mom was born in fifty-two.

Oh, she didn't marry again. Well, I was three years old when my dad died and I was fifteen,
about fifteen when she got married again. Where was he from? He was from Canada.
Manitoba, Canada. but he, yeah, he'd lived in Florida fer years. I don't know just how long
but it was a long time.

Things that I did? I cain't really remember too much, cuz I kinda had it hard growin' up
because o' Mama bein' alone an' workin' all the time. And um, when we moved back to
Florida an' after Frank got married I spent time with them and then I would spend time with
Dot an' them when they lived in Tampa. And uh, well, I guess I'd do thin's with my
girlfriends. I had a girlfriend that lived outta town and I'd go spend the weekend with her
Dot an' them when they lived in Tampa. And uh, well, I guess I'd do thin's with my
girlfriends. I had a girlfriend that lived outta town and I'd go spend the weekend with her
sometimes. And it was just like goin' home because her parents would tell me what I could
'n' couldn't do. And um, and then I went to work when I was fifteen and worked in the dime
store. I worked at McCrory's and I worked at Kress's on after school, and then on
Saturdays, and uh then usually Sundays, I spent my time at the beach. With a group of us would go out to the beach. To uh, Lido Beach, though that was the only beach there was then. And uh, that was about it. And then, uh, in school, I b'longed to the Pep Squad and we'd go to the football games. That was fun.

Did I what, honey? I didn't understand that. Oh, brothers an sisters? Well they were all older than me, Dorothy was fourteen years older than I am, Betty's about seven or eight years older an' Frank's six years older. So Dot, especially, she had married young, so she was away an' then Betty was at home. But then durin' the second war we moved up to Washington. Mom went to work for the Pentagon and uh while we was there, Betty went into nurses' trainin' there in Washington an' Frank joined the Navy. So I was really never really around 'em that much--I don't remember that much, other than just incidents with 'em. Cuz they all had their own, ya know, lives, cuz they was so much older. Mama had Dot an' then several years later she had Betty an' Frank was close together. And she waited quite awhile an' then Richard n' I was close together. An uh, but then he died quite a while ago. You probly don't remember him, do ya? Nah, you were too little.

So what else?

I didn't hear ya. Oh, oh really?! Well I hate to see your telephone bill. Sometime we'll have to sit, we'll talk about this, while I can remember cuz I remember so many incidents with Granny I wished I had gone over with her that uh. And when I was really, you know, wanted to hear about it, well, got to the point she couldn't remember. So let's don't do this with me. And uh. Some of the pitures that I have come across of um, the old pitures of her, I don't know who they are, an' Frank doesn't know cuz I've asked him some of 'em, 'n' we don't know and uh so if we can do this while we got a little bit of more brain.

How didja like the piture I sent ya? I did it fer Galen. I've come across some others uh, oh I know and uh so if we can do this while we got a little bit of more brain.

How didja like the piture I sent ya? I did it fer Galen. I've come across some others uh, oh, I gotta give these to Julie. I've got a note here that you wrote to Granny. Um, musta been around Christmastime an' I don't know what I did with it--I put it up but then I fergot where I put it. But I wanted to give that to you. Cuz you talk about you like her. You really like
her. You really love her a lot at Christmastime. I cracked up with I read that, cuz you musta
oh been maybe six, seven, if that old. I don't remember. That's gotta be saved. I'm gonna
give that to you to save.

So is everythin' goin' okay? Good. I wanna see, uh, read this report when you get it done. I
went, was with your Mom last night. Tommy had a concert down at Pine View. And that's
where I was at. And uh, she had called. And then when I got home, I was afraid maybe it
was too late ta call ya back. I didn't know what time ya went to bed an' what have ya. And,
but wouldja b'lieve I just had my machine hooked up? Don had come out to mow the yard
because expected we're gonna get Irene ta comin' through and uh my mower's been broken,
I just got it back. So he came out after work, him an' Alesia and mowed it. And uh, so while
he was here, he hooked up the machine. But it's got a cordless phone with it, but when I
came home, the phone wouldn't work but the machine did. So I was so surprised to get the
message! Just in time, we got it hooked up! So uh, but, uh, are you workin' anyplace? Yeah,
yeah. Well, uh, I was wonderin'. Talk with your Mom an' I ferget to ask her. So uh guess
we're gonna get together one o' these days an' have her birtday n' Tommy's birtday. Pam's
gonna have everybody up. She says she got a real cute package from you. With the bear in
it. it was real cute. I got her a couple blouses. Come up with somethin' else but I'm not sure
what. Haven't been out that much lately. I gotta get out an' get busy Christmas shoppin'.

Have ya? If you get any ideas fer you an' Galen, write to me, honey. An' let me know.
Because I wanna start pickin' up thin's. I did get some thin's fer 'Lesia an' Shannon the other
day--I went out with Betty 'n' Frank. And we was over at one o' the stores, 'n' I got some
Barbie stuff for 'em. But I think you're a little past that. Just a little. But give me some ideas
fer you guys. And uh, but Shannon, she says Grammaw, I wanna come out 'n' help you
decorate this year. She's got all kinds of ideas. She says If I think of somethin' different, I'll
fer you guys. And uh, but Shannon, she says Grammaw, I wanna come out 'n' help you
decorate this year. She's got all kinds of ideas. She says If I think of somethin' different, I'll
give ya a call, an' if you think o' somethin' different, you call me. An' cuz I told her I said
Julie was always the one ta help, but I says she don't have time anymore.
So uh, I wanna get it done. Uh, when will you be back, do ya know? Oh, that's great. So uh,
I knew you had planned on it, but I didn't know if the plans were still the same or not.
You're gettin' anxious to get through school, aren't ya? I bet. Ah, that's great. Well honey, I
better let you go on.

Okay, yeah, and uh send me a list fer yer Christmas list. And that's all I can think of. If I can
think of anythin' else pertainin' to the fam'ly, I'll write it down, and... Talk to you later. Tell
Galen I said hi. love you. Bye.
Appendix C: Map of Florida with Inset of Sarasota County
Appendix D:
Images of Old Sarasota
Evidence of the great development of Sarasota in the twentieth century: this narrow dirt road is now a six-lane thoroughfare, providing a major route to Interstate 75. Evelyn lives two blocks south of this road now.
Facing east, this photo shows the concentration of development around the coastline. Indeed, the farmland at the top is still far less populated than the coastal areas. As Evelyn moved to Sarasota permanently in 1947, this is roughly the state of the town as she knew it.

The arrow denotes where Evelyn lives now. From 1947 to 1951, she lived in nearly the same place, just two blocks further south.
Appendix E: $\chi$-square charts

These charts contain the data I ran through traditional $\chi$-square tests. Each data distribution was deemed significant by the tests. The numbers indicate tokens of /r/.

Table 1 - Production of /r/ in each transcript

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